

Regionalism: It's Origins and Substance with Competition and Exclusion

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Abstract:

The regionalism in South Korea, historically produced in the conflicting and tension-filled process of "competition, defense, and exclusion" of resource distribution, is multi-dimensional, multi-formed and complex. In this paper, I examine regionalism in South Korean society in three dimensions: *jiveok gamjeong* as a typical regional sentiment, intra regional disparities (polarization between Seoul and the local), and the emergence of a new kind of regionalism (locality). In South Korea, regionalism is commonly regarded as a harmful and negative social phenomena because of the social deformities it produces. However, regionalism can function to provoke the vitality of social development through the formation of identity in relation to a specific area and promote "healthy" competition. Regionalism may imply positive motives toward the restoration of local subjectivity and the improvement in the quality of life. It is required

for the Korean people to utilize the positive as a dynamic means of developing a progressive South Korean democracy and civil society.

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Why Regionalism Today?

At the end of the 20th-twentieth century, scholars all over the world have grappled with the impact of globalization in creating new ways of life. While there have not² been very many substantial points of convergence in various understandings of globalization, one viewpoint that has been paid increasingreceived increasing attention is that of understanding globalization-the phenomenon as a comprehensive transformation in politics and culture that goes beyond merely appreciating it as the transformation of the economic order alone.

— — — — In spite of variations—in—the existence of varying perspectives on globalization, one common conclusion is that globalization is the process of erasing regional boundaries. Globalism, as a new way of life, is a product of this process.¹ However, it is worth noting that the “regionalization” which redraws the lines of territorial borders, occurs at the same time as—globalization is eliminatingworks to

~~eliminate national ones, national borders.~~ In the current wave of globalization, ~~forming~~ the formation of regional blocs such as the European Community (EC), Asian Pacific Economy Community (APEC), and ~~the~~ North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA) ~~have~~ has simultaneously erased previous national boundaries while creating new regional ones.

~~-----~~ More extreme globalists who argue for the dissolution of nation-states, now acknowledge the dualistic phenomenon whereby globalized governments or corporations directly encounter specific regions. That is, as the power of transnational *capital* ~~reformulates a chain~~ establishes a chain capturing specific local governments or a particular locale, the ~~substance~~ role of nation-states as an intermediating unit may become vague.² Whether regional boundaries may consist of sets of several nation-states or small communities, it is clear that regionalization (and regionalism) is regarded as a phenomenon that confronts globalization (and globalism). The term, “glocalization” ~~- as the joining of the global and the local -~~ appropriately reflects the dialectical process of ~~the~~ two tendencies of globalization and regionalization.³

Moreover, recently ~~we are able to find~~ it has been possible to identify various “symptoms” implicitly or explicitly related to regionalization (or regionalism). ~~First~~ The first such symptom can be described as postmodernism’s epistemology, which emphasizes a relativistic ~~view to at the micro level,~~ micro-level view, denying the total thought and ontology ~~in of the~~ macro discourse, while ~~assertings~~ the recognition of the local as the locus of meaningful life in post-industrial society.⁴ Post-modern thinking, which refuses the macrolevel narratives ~~at the macro level which~~ emphasizing truth, the state, revolution and so ~~on~~ forth in the development of history, gives prominence to the spatiality revealing the micro and situational differentiation of individuals. Recently,

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regionalism formulated as an anti-discourse to globalism, has become closely related with nationalism, asserting that it affirms ~~this its~~ identities (?) as well. Resisting the hegemony of a few powerful countries ~~—~~ the United States in particular ~~—~~ anti-hegemonic discourse asks political and cultural questions; that is, national sentiments ~~regarding~~ asks the questions of *who we are, and how to identify our forefathers and descendants*. While nationalism related ~~with to~~ race has historically formed beyond regional boundaries, regionalism may compound ~~and build itself~~ within specific spatial boundaries. Nonetheless, both are closely related to each other, and also seem to be related to post-colonialism.⁵ Post-colonial theorists have asserted that we need to overcome a Western-centric worldview, criticizing globalization's tendency to reinforce a myopic and biased Western-centered viewpoint. Post-colonialism, which emphasizes the restoration of subjects in particular locales, now accentuates ~~local (regional) concerns~~ ~~for the local area (region)~~.⁶ Both ~~p~~Post-modernism, and post-colonialism ~~m~~discourses have suggested an entirely new way of thinking about locality, regionalism and especially "regional settings" as the locus of individual life.⁷

—Leaving aside the debate ~~on over~~ whether the unit of regionalism may be organized ~~on around~~ the global level of post-nation-state or ~~on~~ the local level of small-scale acquaintance relations, ~~there is quite a bit more to consider in regards to its character~~. Regionalism, according to a more comprehensive definition, refers to the entire range of characteristics historically formed in a specific space, ~~through while~~ ~~considering~~ all interactions of political, economic, and cultural factors. Regionalism also has a fluid nature, newly and historically formed in the context of time and space as well.

____ Then what are the characteristics of regionalism in South Korea today? How do we approach and evaluate the substance of it? ~~For starters~~ Important to consider first is the fact that; regionalism in South Korean society is typified by the term *Jiyeokgamjeong*—*jiyeok gamjeong* (which translates to “regional sentiment”), is something more closely defined as discrimination ~~toward~~ against a specific region. Well known in Korean society, this “regional sentiment” has been lamented as a “ruinous national disease” (*mang-ne’guk byueong*); that has exerted a powerful and tenaciously persistent negative influence throughout Korean history, particularly on people’s attitudes and their political behavior. *Jiyeok gamjeong* has driven people to vote for candidates and political parties based on specific ~~regions~~ regional origins alone, therefore causing long-lasting divisions that have historically undermined national solidarity by provoking political cleavages and fostering economic alienation ~~among~~ thebetween regions. Although *Jiyeokgamjeong*—*jiyeok gamjeong* is substantively different than racial discrimination in multi-ethnic societies, in the context of South Korea’s ethnic homogeneity, regional discrimination exhibits comparable traits ~~to racial~~ discrimination. In South Korea, *Jiyeokgamjeong*—*jiyeok gamjeong* has produced an unequal distribution of resources in politics and economic development. It affects an individual’s ~~one’s~~ — job opportunities and promotions, marriage prospects, social relations, and other aspects of everyday life. —

____ Although *Jiyeok gamjeong*; ~~biased and discriminatory attitudes based on geographical regionalism~~ is regarded as the most common form of regionalism in Korea, regionalism has other facets as well. For example, there are socio-psychological factors which relate to another kind of disparity - thatis based on vertical relations between the capital city of Seoul (metropolitan area) and a local areas (*jibang*). Under South Korea’s

"growth first, distribution later" strategy of economic planning, rapid industrialization in the 1960's and 1970's was predicated on specific groups and classes, ~~and as well as~~ specific industries and regions. Since the 1970s, economic growth has mainly been carried out by large conglomerates called *chaeboljaebol*, fostering heavy industries centered on ~~South East~~the southeastern coast. Thus, industrialization has brought about a so-called "spatial polarization"; ~~drawing that draws~~ a line between Seoul, the Yeongnam district and other areas. Examining the spatial aspect more closely, however, the ~~Yeongnam~~Yeongnam area has itself grown to become a heavily industrialized area, though ~~it is~~ still dependent on Seoul. ~~Seoul~~The capital has ~~occupied~~continues to occupy the supreme position in the country, ~~with still holding~~ the most educational, medical and other public facilities, as well as serving as the primary headquarters for the lion's share of South Korean ~~businesses and~~ national administrative entities, ~~and businesses~~. As a result, regionally uneven development ~~is~~has brought the division between Seoul (the metropol~~itan~~) and other areas (the local) into stark relief.

~~---~~ Now ~~In the present, it is possible to we~~observe ~~yet~~ another form of regionalism. Under a highly centralized regime, Korean society had never possessed a regionally dispersed power structure.— It was not until the mid-1990s that "the age of the local" was introduced as a symbol of increasing democratization, ~~marked by the~~ restoration of ~~ing~~ local self-governments, ~~the~~ holding of local elections, ~~and the~~ organization of ~~organizing~~ local councils. Local self-government is now is regarded as having gone far beyond the democratization of power (grass-roots democracy) by laying ~~the~~ building blocks of civil society, and establishing a space ~~for to foster~~ local inhabitants' identities ~~to~~and thereby improve the quality of life. Consequently, through the various image formations on local spaces (for instance, through local feasts or

banquets), movements to construct characteristics peculiar to ~~the~~-local concerns have now arisen. ~~and as~~As a result, a new form of regionalism has emerged.

~~---~~ In South Korea, regionalism is commonly regarded as a harmful and negative attitude because of the social deformities it produces and the impediments it creates for the overall development of Korean society. It has been frequently ~~been~~-argued that ~~*Jiyeokgamjeong*~~ ~~*jiyeok gamjeong*~~ has undermined national integration, rational consensus and sound political development. Also, the polarization (or regional disparities) between Seoul (~~metropolis~~) and ~~other~~-local areas is contrary to the principle of a just distribution of resources. However, regionalism does not only entail negative elements. ~~As we~~ ~~have~~ witnessed the current phenomena of regionalism in South Korea, a newly formed regionalism including local self-governance may ~~imply~~ ~~offer~~ positive motives towards the restoration of subjects and ~~the~~ an improvement in the quality of life. As stated above, there can be a legitimate need for restoring regionalism ~~to that scope~~ ~~resists the~~ ~~with~~ abolishment of local subjectivities that results from the crumbling of regional boundaries in the course of globalization.

The formation of regionalism in South Korea reveals a number of complicated issues. This paper will attempt to examine regionalism in South Korean society in three dimensions: 1) ~~*Jiyeokgamjeong*~~ ~~*jiyeok gamjeong*~~ as a typical regional sentiment, 2) intra regional disparities (polarization between Seoul and the local), and 3) the emergence of a new kind of regionalism (locality). ~~---~~

The Substance of *Jiyeok_gamjeong*

~~——~~ *Jiyeok_gamjeong* as a form of regional sentiment and one constituent of regionalism in general, may be described as a social attitude~~s~~ formed historically and culturally toward a certain region. In Korean society, it refers to a socio-psychological state that is revealed through prejudicial~~e~~ discrimination, ~~and as well as~~ pervasive stereotypes ~~of~~ about a specific region. *Jiyeok_gamjeong* also refers to confrontational and hostile attitudes toward people in other areas, such as the way that residents of ~~Kyungsang-do~~ Gyeongsang-do (—also known as Yung-nam Yeongnam) express enmity toward people from ~~Cheolla-do~~ Jeolla-do (or Ho-nam) provinces— (and vice versa—). Clearly, in this context, the term ~~*Jiyeokjiyeok_gamjong*~~ has ~~become associated~~ with developed negative connotations. For the last ~~30~~ thirty years, ~~*Jiyeokgamjeong*~~ *jiyeok_gamjeong* has been perceived as a pathological condition that afflicts Koreans, to the extent that the issue dominates presidential, congressional and even local elections, with candidates perpetually promising to abolish regional sentiment as part of their campaign pledges.

One frequently cited criticism of ~~*Jiyeokgamjeong*~~ *jiyeok_gamjeong* is that it undermines national solidarity, and impedes rational debate and critical consciousness in the presentation of policies or ideology. In the case of Koreans hailing from the southern ~~Cheolla~~ province, ~~*Jiyeokgamjeong*~~ *jiyeok_gamjeong* manifests itself by adversely affecting social relations such as in such areas as employment, job promotion, associates (~~associates~~ friendships???), marriage prospects, and so forth for Jeolla citizens. for Cheolla citizens.⁸

How then is it possible to explain *Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong*? I will broadly categorize the existing interpretational approaches of *Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong* into the “historical approach” and the “political behavioral approach”, while examining content in detail the substance of each, in detail and and suggest offering a third alternative of a “social mobility framework” as a more viable and fruitful approach for analysis. Here, social mobility broadly includes occupational mobility, class

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mobility(social status) and population mobility although generally it means the mobility of social status.

(In reading seeing how you use the term “social mobility”. I was initially a bit confused as the general use of the term I am familiar with denotes a change in social status. However, in your argument, you seem to use the term more in terms of population movement and density, more than the shifting social statuses of Korean people dealing with rapid urbanization and industrialization. If you are indeed using the term this way, it might be confusing to the Western reader who may initially assume you are using the “social mobility” in terms of the former definition, that of changing social status.)

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Historical Interpretation

The historical interpretation approach regards regional sentiment in Korea as a historical phenomenon and seeks its origins in the past. Today the typical spaces of *Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong* are *ChoellaJeolla* and *KyungsangGyeongsang*, and its the historical origins of the regional conflicts may be traced as far back as the Three Kingdoms period, which consisted of the independent kingdoms of *KoguryoGoguryeo*,

Silla— and ~~Paekehe~~ ~~Backje~~. There was much hostility and conflict even during this early period, with ~~Backje~~ ~~Paekehe~~ building its power base in what is now ~~Jeolla~~ ~~Cheolla~~ province, and the Silla kingdom establishing itself in what is now ~~Kyungsang~~ ~~Gyeongsang~~ province. Although Silla eventually defeated ~~Backje~~ ~~Paekehe~~ to unite the three kingdoms in ~~A.D.~~ 668 ~~AD~~, historical animosity between the two regions is said not to have abated. Indeed, after the downfall of United Silla (Tong-il Silla), and in the Post-Three States Period (Post-~~Backje~~ ~~Paekehe~~, Post-~~Koguryo~~ ~~Goguryeo~~, and Silla), fierce battles took place in the area of what is modern day ~~Jeolla~~ ~~Cheolla~~. —

After Wang ~~Keon~~ ~~Geon~~ founded the ~~Koryo~~ ~~Goryeo~~ kingdom in ~~A.D.~~ 918 ~~AD~~, he issued "~~t~~ The "Ten Injunctions" (a kind of precepts which the kings are obliged to follow) "—which admonished that people from under the ~~Mt.~~ ~~Charjye~~ ~~Jeongsan~~ ~~mountain~~ area should be excluded from ~~the~~ ~~government~~ appointments, reinforcing the notion that inhabitants of the ~~Cheolla~~ ~~Jeolla~~ area were untrustworthy, unruly and prone to insurrection. Some would trace this characterization of ~~Cheolla~~ ~~Jeolla~~ citizens back to the ~~Chosun~~ ~~Joseon~~ ~~Dynasty~~ ~~dynasty~~ period (1392-1910) and explain the continued history of hostility between the ~~Kyungsang~~ ~~Gyeongsang~~ and ~~Cheolla~~ ~~Jeolla~~ areas, pointing out that ~~the~~ ~~Nam-in~~ (~~Southerners~~) political faction (or Southern group) from ~~Cheolla~~ ~~Jeolla~~ experienced a decline in political influence, whereas—the ~~Sa-rim~~ group from present-day ~~Kyungsang~~ ~~Gyeongsang~~ province often exerted influential powers in court politics.⁹

However this historical interpretation has serious limitations ~~-----~~; namely the lack of historical documentation, ~~and as well as reliance upon~~ subjective, arbitrary interpretations that merely reflect the pervasiveness of popular stereotypes. Conflicts in the Three Kingdoms period, are, in and of themselves, inadequate for explaining ~~today's~~

~~the Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong of today. At any rate~~Moreover, the capital of the ~~Paeche~~~~Baekje~~ kingdom was located in modern-day ~~Kyonggi~~~~Gyeonggi~~ and Chungcheong ~~provinces~~; ~~not~~ ~~Cheolla~~~~Jeolla~~ ~~provinces~~ further reflecting the ~~tenuousness~~~~spuriousness~~ of this argument. While "~~the~~ Ten Injunctions" of the ~~Koryo~~~~Goryeo~~ Dynasty ~~reflects~~~~does reflect~~ historical discrimination towards an area that may be properly defined as ~~Cheolla~~~~Jeolla~~ province today, it is insufficient to account for the ~~pervasiveness and intensity of~~ tensions ~~among~~~~between these regions~~ ~~Choella~~, ~~Kyungsang~~ and other areas today.

~~— — — —~~ In regards to the political factionalism during the ~~Chosun~~~~Joseon~~ Dynasty~~dynasty~~, some point out the powerful influence of the Sarim group from the ~~Kyungsang~~~~Gyeongsang~~ area, the conflicts with the ~~Ki~~~~Giho~~ group (~~Kyungki~~~~Gyeonggi~~ province), and political discrimination toward northern areas centered in Pyeong-an province as evidence of historical regional ~~hostility~~~~hostility~~. And yet, groups from modern-day ~~Kyungsang~~~~Gyeongsang~~ and ~~Cheolla~~~~Jeolla~~ provinces were not involved in these conflicts, but ~~rather~~ had sympathy for each other and were allied together in their mutual suffering during this period; thus, ~~further taking away~~~~significantly weakens~~ ~~such from this arguments~~~~specious lines of argument~~.¹⁰

In short, while the historical approach seeks to trace the origins of regional conflict today, it merely provides interesting hints that are not plausible, due to a lack of evidence ~~— and persuasive power~~.~~— — —~~

2. Political Behavior ~~α~~Approach

↓

Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong reveals its most definite features in election behaviors in contemporary South Korea, where it should be noted that voters still tend to vote solely on the basis of candidates' provincial origins. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of voters support candidates and political parties related with their particular region of origin, even when the voters no longer reside in the area. In presidential, congressional and local government elections, *CheollaJeolla* support for a candidate based on in that province is remarkably demarcated along these powerful, regional lines.¹¹

Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong also exerts a powerful influence on election behavior regardless of generation, occupation, and class. *Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong* has not only hindered the establishment of political parties based on a particular social agenda or common class interests but it has also paralyzed any rational political judgment. For example, a disproportionate number of people from the *KyongsangGyeongsang* area have been employed, appointed and promoted in government administrative offices during most of Korea's modern history, while those from *CheollaJeolla* area have been excluded.—_The so-called *KyongsangGyeongsang* group, which emerged after Park *CheongChung*-hee (who was from *KyongsangGyeongsang* province) seized power in a military coup in 1961, continued to appoint personnel from their area to stay in power. Employing ~~a network~~ the tool of cronyism, a ruling social and political elite from the *KyongsangGyeongsang* area secured their power by installing fellow *KyongsangGyeongsang* citizens which reduced the risk of losing power while and maximiz ing the efficacy of their rule.¹²

In every election season, most candidates state "regional integration" and eradication of regional sentiment' as their campaign pledges. However, many critics hold that *Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong* has been "strategically" invented by

politicians.— *Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong*, in this sense, is seen as an irrational, knee-jerk mechanism used by politicians ~~mechanism~~ to exclude prominent political rivals. On ~~the~~ one hand, the KyungsangGyeongsang power group urges that "we must maintain power, because if radical CheollaJeolla rivals seize power, they will cast our nation into chaos and disorder." ~~On the other~~ ~~hand~~, the CheollaJeolla power group exhorts its supporters to "stand together to elect a candidate from our region, otherwise our region will continue to be excluded from economic growth and political power." In sum, many have argued that *Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong* today is not a spontaneous phenomenon, but a blind, socio-psychological prejudice fabricated by politicians who merely seek to consolidate their political foundationspower base. They have attempted to gain power or maintain their status by manipulating regional sentiment.¹³

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But aside from the discourse of mass media, which publishes articles and editorials inciting regionalism, regional sentiment is quite clearly an established and diffused phenomenon. After the regime of President Park Cheong-Chung-hHee (1961-1979), regionalism was subdivided so that the influence of *Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong* of the Chungcheong area (the central region of the Korean peninsula) had come to be reflected ~~on~~ in political behavior. As Kim Jong-pil (a representative of the Chungcheong area) announced his candidacy for president in the late 1980s, he vehemently denounced the so-called "Chungcheong bumpkin" stereotype. By asserting that "People in Chungcheong are not ignorant fools" his political power base in this area was established. Nowadays, in spite of its relatively minor position among other parties, the Political Party of Chungcheong holds the crucial deciding vote in national assembly decisions, playing a decisive role in political situations. From CheollaJeolla to

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KyungsangGyeongsang to Chungcheong, their common political tactic is to exploit sentiments of regional chauvinism in order to artificially incite Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong, thereby maintaining their own vested interests.

This political behavioral approach is persuasive in that regionalism in Korea clearly reveals its distinctive features in Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong, which undermines national integration, rational judgment, and a rational political culture. At every election, Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong has always been identified and cited as the core reason for ~~aberrationsirregularities and, idiosyncrasies and~~ distortions in the electoral process. However, Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong is not only restricted to election behaviors. As stated earlier, Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong also affects a vast range of life experiences ~~such as employment, promotion, marriage, personal relationships and so forth~~ in both the personal and professional realms. Therefore, the political behavioral approach is limited in explaining such ~~z~~-comprehensive features of regionalism. Granted that Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong may be clearly identified in the political process of election behaviors, particularly in the way it has been ~~fabricated~~ ~~(perpetuated?)~~ and exploited by Korean politicians, it still fails to explain exactly how it was ~~generated~~ ~~eosntructed~~ ~~constructed~~ and internalized in ~~the hearts of so~~ much of the Korean populace. —

The 3. The Social Mobility Interpretation — —

—— To explore Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong and its ensuing conflicts as a more comprehensive social phenomenon, we need to examine the relation between ~~the~~ industrialization and social mobility. ~~Baseially~~ Basically, Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok

gamjeong arises from conflicts among groups vying for resource distribution (such as power, wealth, reputation), ~~acting and acts~~ as a mechanism ~~that excludes~~ for excluding specific groups from the distribution process. That is, in situations where heterogeneous groups gather in a specific space for ~~resource distribution~~ the distribution of resources, coalitions and exclusions occur among them in an effort to win— resources ~~them~~; and in the process, a socio-psychological prejudice mechanism against a specific group is ~~acted upon~~ set in motion. In general, ~~it is highly possible that~~ the target of this exclusionary mechanism is ~~that the~~ group ~~which enters~~ centering the existing space from outside, i.e., the group possessing inges the most social mobility.¹⁴

It has been observed that rapid economic growth has condensed time and space (~~this is a little awkward — 1) who has observed, and 2) in what way are you talking about time and space being condensed? Is there a specific theory you're referring to here?~~); in sense that South Korea achieved unprecedented economic growth in a relatively short time, 1960-1990, compared to other countries, and, therefore, and this ~~which is also an apt description way to describe for South Korean society, which has accomplished~~ achieved ~~unprecedented economic growth during the last industrialization period (which period specifically?). In the~~ The process of rapid ~~industrialization;~~ industrialization Korean society has ~~experienced~~ tremendously increased the level of ~~tremendous~~ social mobility in Korean society. This ~~becomes~~ is evident ~~when we examine~~ in the the large-scale transformation from ~~what was~~ a predominantly agrarian society at the end of the Korean War to an industrial one in a matter of decades. In the 1960s, when the gross national production (per capita?) ~~income~~ was only 89 dollars, the ~~first primary industry~~ industrial sector (i.e., agricultural and forest) laid the foundation for the national economy, and secondary (i.e., mining

~~and manufacturing)~~ –and tertiary industries (i.e., service and sales etc.) composed of less than 30 percent of total industries. ~~(교열자 의견: 한국 사람들은 1,2,3 차 산업에 대해 자세히 알고 있지만 미국사람들은 잘 모른다고 합니다. 구체적으로 이야기를 해야 이해를 한다고 하네요.. Here it isn't clear to me what “primary” and “secondary” and “tertiary” industrial sectors mean, besides the fact that they are somehow related to each other –define them a bit for the reader)~~ However, in the 1990s, ~~the~~ first, secondary, and tertiary industries became totally reversed in their proportional positions in the national economy, along with their related (and occupations?).— —This reveals that the South Korean population experienced a drastic migration pattern away from agriculture during this very rapid period of industrialization. Most of population ~~from previously active in~~ the agricultural sector became concentrated in urbanized Seoul and its suburbs.

The rate of urbanization in South Korea is unprecedented in ~~the world~~world history. It is about twice as high as the average, surpassing not only Third World countries that have generally urbanized without industrialization, ~~as well as~~but also mature, capitalist nations in the West.— —By the 1990s, the majority of Seoul’s population came to be comprised of migrants who had arrived from other ~~areas~~parts in of the country, ~~so much so that~~In fact, –the number of Seoul’s original inhabitants ~~–original native~~ “Seoulites” who lived in the city before the massive population upheavals of ~~the rapidly-industrializing~~ation before industrialization ~~–in the~~ late 1950s ~~– now~~make up less than 20 percent of the total population ~~in Seoul~~there. This influx of rural workers crowded into Seoul and the nearbyest large cities ~~like of~~ Anyang, Suwon, Incheon, and Seongnam. According to population records, in the 1970s, when industrialization and urbanization had reached its peak, 60 percent of the population in

Seoul belonged to informal, urban sectors ~~which that~~ were economic spheres for people on the edges of poverty.—

As has been commonly acknowledged ~~(by whom?)~~, South Korean society struggles with the dual problems of a high population density, ~~but and~~ limited ~~(natural ?)~~ resources.— ~~(Usually, this pie analogy takes place as many people sharing a SINGLE pie among multiple persons, more than there being a limited amount of pies. So for the sake of clarity, I will change the analogy a bit, while preserving your meaning) There~~ Since there is increasingly less so few pies for constituents to share to divide ~~amonstamongst~~ societal members.— ~~To enlarge the limited number of “pies” within a short period,~~ conflicts and tensions regarding the production resourees production and distribution of resources were inevitable. Given the context of South Korea’s population needs and the scarcity of resources, the struggles ~~for over the~~ distribution of resources were understandably more fierce and intensive than in other ~~(developing?)~~ societies. ~~Moreover, T~~ the absolute authoritarianism and state repressed repression of the popular Minjung-minjung social movement with using police and military force is a good example of this.—

During the periodes of rapid industrialization, the CheollaJeolla region underwent the most drastic structural changes (in South Korea) in terms of population upheaval and relocation. The CheollaJeolla areas, which were based mostly on agriculture, produced most of the industrial workers and the urban poor that flooded into the large cities.—

Thus, it is all the more likely that, from the perspective of the other inhabitants of large cities, they regarded people from CheollaJeolla ~~were regarded~~ as the most bellicose in struggles for resources ~~from the perspective of other inhabitants~~. Therefore,

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those from other areas of Korea began to ~~make-create~~ defense coalitions ~~to in order to~~ ~~maintain (control over)~~ their resources and excluded the “outsiders” from the ~~CheollaJeolla~~ region. In fact, the exclusionary mechanism manifests itself in terms of investment (~~patterns~~) and expropriation of resources (for example, investment in economic infrastructures, or ~~the~~ exclusion from the distribution of political power, etc.), which stimulates the socio-psychological defense mechanism to come into being.

~~(A logic problem—the “exclusionary mechanism” on the part of non-Cheolla people stimulates and sets into motion the “socio-psychological mechanism” in the same people?)—~~The socio-psychological defense mechanism ~~appropriates—utilizes (if it “appropriates”, then from whom or where?)~~ a strategy of creating and disseminating a stereotype ~~and that supports a~~ negative prejudice ~~towards~~ ~~CheollaJeolla~~ people. The ~~ps~~psychological impact and power of these stereotypes ~~are propagated~~ ~~increase to the point that and they~~ become fixed as “facts.” For instance, the popular belief that “people from the ~~CheollaJeolla~~ areas are dangerous, unreliable, rude and immoral!” ~~both generates-creates~~ and reinforces a psychological alienation toward ~~CheollaJeolla~~ people.

~~Actual experiences of individuals then~~At this point, individual experience easily becomes exaggerated and oversimplified. ~~In this way, if someone an individual has does~~ happens to have a negative experience with a person from ~~CheollaJeolla~~, he might be ~~prone-inclined~~ to ~~assume-attribute this to the fact that that it's just because—~~“They are from ~~JeollaChoHa~~”. On the other hand, receiving injury or insult from ~~people from from a person from —KyungsangGyeongsang or other—another area areas—~~seldom reaches the pervasiveness level of caricature and stereotype as ~~they-it does for do forfor~~ the people of ~~JeollaChoHa~~, ~~which—This pointsindicates—~~once again ~~to—the~~ insider-

outsider dynamics of exclusionary power toward a specific region based on social mobility, mobility, population movement (?).

-At the same time, people from CheollaJeolla share a common “persecution consciousness” (a sense of “victimization” known as *pihae_uisik*), which strengthens their own cohesion and makes them wary of people from other areas. By intensifying their own feelings of victimization and persecution, they consolidate their resources for their survival and defense, and develop wary, distrusting attitudes toward people from other areas and create boundaries-barriers of regional sentiment.

General The political strategy acts as an intermediating variable to incite and strengthen Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong. The mobilization and incitement of Politicians who, for the sake of protecting their vested interests, invoke and incite Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong, by politicians to protect their vested interests, plays a catalytic role that adds fuel to the fire (CheollaJeolla is not an exception). As mentioned earlier above, sometimes political groups sometimes play a leading role in utilizing the exclusionary mechanism in conflicts over resource distribution caused by the mobility of social sectors. In fact, they such groups might may be the very group that creates responsible for creating and the diffusion propogatingpropagating of the mechanism itself.

Spatial Division of Labor and Uneven Regional Development

In South Korea, the inequality of regional development also shapes another type of regionalism that exacerbates regional tensions and conflicts. The industrialization of South Korea centered on specific industries in the specific regions, which, under the

direction of the state, ~~which~~ created wide disparities in ~~the development of the regions~~ regional development. — In particular, all resources were centered in Seoul as the central focal point of South Korean ~~development~~. The regional disparities produced by this vertical division between Seoul and other local areas suggests another dimension of regionalism that differs from the type of regional sentiment discussed above.

Many have dealt with the regional disparity closely related to *Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong* in light of the strategy of state-led industrialization since 1960s. While that approach provides ~~affluent~~ adequate information, it ~~seem to~~ overlooks the crucial point that regional disparities are ~~the~~ reflection of spatial class structures defining ~~the~~ unequal social relationships. I ~~will~~ briefly ~~attempt to~~ touch upon regional disparities in terms of spatial divisions of labor and class structure.¹⁵

~~The~~ Regional changes in industrial structures ~~by region~~ created spatial differentiation of the labor market and moreover, brought about ~~the~~ spatial differentiation of classes that resulted in ~~regional~~ disparities in life ~~opportunities~~ chances according to region.¹⁶ Reviewing the regional composition of occupation in manufacturing, expert skill related occupations, administrative management, and office work, reflects the state of regional ~~labor~~ market ~~labor (?)~~. In ~~the~~ mid 1980s, the metropolitan area ~~occupied already~~ ~~possessed already~~ over half (51.9 percent) of the total manufacturing occupations and 55.5 percent of the total expert skill occupations. Even more pronounced were administrative management and office occupations, which accounted for 64.3 percent and 63.9 percent respectively. ~~These are~~ overwhelming numbers when compared with occupational rates from ~~KyungsangGyeongsang~~ province (28.6 percent in administration and 27.9 percent in office) and others areas (7.1 percent and 8.2 percent).¹⁷ This shows that the “white-collar” class in occupations such as

~~expert skill~~, management, administration, ~~and general~~ -office, ~~and other work requiring expert skills-work~~ were concentrated in the central metropolitan center of Seoul, while ~~direct manufacturing manual~~ laborers ~~were tended to be~~ situated in southeastern coastal areas.—

Aside from regional considerations, labor characteristics may also be analyzed according to other variations in its composition. For example, in the cities of Ulsan and Changwon, where machinery, non-metal, and chemical petroleum industries were concentrated, skilled male labor is predominant; in contrast, the cities of ~~Kumi-Gumi~~ and Masan have predominantly unskilled female labor in labor-intensive industries ~~like such as~~ electronics and textiles. Industries ~~which requiring require the~~ specialized skills and training ~~needed~~ for research and development are centered in metropolitan areas. The Yeoungnam area has concentrations of relatively large ~~corporations which corporations that~~ possess this type of specialized labor, ~~housed in the~~ auxiliary research institutes that are affiliated ~~with to~~ each corporation. Still, ~~(문장(표)을 삭제했음) as the table below (아래 표가 없습니다.) shows demonstrates,~~ 70 percent of the total research and development institutes in all industries are located in metropolitan areas, and the specialized labor force that conducts research and development is concentrated in this space. This implies that high-tech industries, ~~which with their highly trained technicians and specialists, specialists define the core of post-industrial South Korean society, are the core of post-industrial South Korean society~~ are increasingly concentrated in metropolitan areas.—

Observing the regional distribution of the labor market, it is clear that both class and labor functions are differentiated regionally. In sum, the metropolitan areas have a high concentration of the upper class ~~who~~ -performing labor functions such as

management while enjoying economic rights of possession and ownership. In industrial areas of Yeoungnam, by contrast, ~~white-collar~~ executives ~~hold~~ perform the functions of management and control at the middle and lower levels and are predominantly occupied with directing production workers ~~is predominant~~. Meanwhile in other areas, the peasant and old middle classes (engaged in agriculture and independent, small-sized enterprises) are dominant. Given that classes are immense groups involving the distribution of wealth, spatial differentiation of class may ~~mean go hand in hand with (?)~~ a spatially differentiated distribution of wealth.¹⁸

As we can guess, the incomes of ~~the~~ upper white ~~class~~ collar workers are considerably larger than those of general office workers and ~~blue-collar~~ workers, rendering abundant opportunities for enjoying a variety of lifestyles. For example, ~~they~~ white-collar worker consume expensive durable goods and are able to enjoy opportunities for unique cultural experiences as well as leisure. In metropolitan areas, the percentages of new middle and upper ~~white-collar~~ classes are almost twice as high as other areas and is ~~constantly steadily rising on the increase~~. In those areas, opportunities for improvements in the quality of life, such as greater incomes ~~or or higher and~~ better educational opportunities, are also over two times higher than other areas in South Korea, in addition to the fact that group occupies enjoying the highest rate of per capita income. — Professional and managerial occupations, regarded as the upper part of the new middle class and the white collar class, enjoy ~~much~~ many more life opportunities than blue collar workers.

In Seoul, where the capitalist ~~class~~ and the new middle classes are concentrated, it is a huge space for the consumption of products, goods, and services. In addition to housing the highest concentration of educational, medical, cultural and civic facilities,

the sheer number of Seoul's agglomeration of offices, branch offices and commercial businesses far exceeds any other area in the entire country.¹⁹

The Emergence of Regional Politics and the New Regionalism

A series of discourses on local autonomy and regional politics in South Korean society has now emerged. With the revival of local elections exploring the possibilities of recent democratization for the first time in ~~50-fifty~~ years (with the exception of a few years) ~~(when?)~~ and with the environment, traffic, housing and ~~so-forth~~ other concerns emerging as pressing social issues, the "local" is receiving increasing attention. ~~Mature capitalist states in the West have begun a post-modern focus on the locus of local life, paying attention to "the local" as a legitimate object of study. (문장을 삭제했음)~~ With the emergence of a neo-liberal system accompanying the restructuring of world capitalism, more attention is being placed on each unit of regional space rather than an analysis of space at the level of the nation-state. As neo-liberal governments curtailed their spending on national welfare, local governments began a significant transformation in their functions and status, producing a more spontaneous and active role in the areas of production and consumption.²⁰

~~At present, local~~ local politics under the advanced capitalist system ~~of these times~~ is also powerfully influenced by the process of capital accumulation and its restructuring at ~~—~~the global level. Policy formulations involving changes of local governments in advanced capitalist states like the ~~U.-S.~~ United States and the United Kingdom are caused by the changes in capital accumulation structures at the world level. For example, a flexible accumulation system concentrates new skilled labor and technology within a

specific space to establish brand new policies for local autonomy that is markedly different from pre-existing ones. When capital flees from existing industrial areas, local governments are called upon to cope with the after-effects. Thus, local government steps in to establish various policies for coping with unemployment and revitalizing the local economy. As part of the urban development strategy of local governments for reviving declining spaces, [the resources of](#) real estate capitalists and financiers are [being](#) tapped [and are being increasingly expected](#) to take a leading role in the redevelopment and the revitalization of the local economy. Thus local government takes the initiative to redevelop, market and create new spaces for consumption.

~~---~~ It is premature to discuss the substantive effects and consequences of local government's new role in South Korea, a process ~~which~~ [that](#) has just recently begun. However, the expectation that local government is an inevitable part of a progression toward democracy will coexist with criticism [that](#) the political process is being abused to ensure the vested interests of a certain people. The criticism stems from the objection that national or central authority politics unduly influence and exploit local politics. In addition, there ~~arise~~ [are increasingly more](#) voices warning of the impracticality or ineffectiveness of local councils and the "nimby pimby" phenomena.²¹ The concerns about local autonomy focus on the administrative aspects of the political process such as election behavior and distribution of centralized powers. In that the local autonomy may lay the foundation for democracy through the distribution of power, most ~~of~~ concerns revolve around political processes such as agencies of local government and the constitution of local council and local elections. To be sure, the discourse on local autonomy in South Korean society originated from the existing structures of politics. Local politics appeared ~~(when?)~~ as a symbolic slogan for the realization of democracy

by political transactions among institutionalized political groups ~~which had with~~ a clear interests in ~~power distribution~~ distributing power ~~(amongst themselves?)~~.

~~---~~ However, current local politics cannot be appreciated only from political and administrative perspectives. Local politics is a ~~presupposition~~ both a precondition and consequence of civil society. That is, the realm of civil society extends to local autonomy, and in turn, the extension of civil society renders local autonomy possible.

As the ~~index on the ranks of the~~ ~~m~~ expansion of middle and working classes expands, so follows the expansion of markets, and the expansion of other private spheres reflectings ~~for civil society~~ the rapid growth of ~~grow rapidly with rapid and~~ industrialization.²²

Industrial societies, to the extent that ~~it is~~ they ~~a~~ tend to be pluralistic societies, starts to reveal the depth and scope of its conflicts in ~~the~~ various ways; that the central government attempts to manage and control ~~it~~ with its limited powers. — As citizens call for social justice and the equitable distribution of wealth, power, and the enjoyment of life, more and more importance is laid on the buffering function of local government.

At present, civil society's capabilities far exceeds the central government's ~~managing~~ ~~capability~~ capability to manage. Because of these political and economic considerations, a discourse on local autonomy and local politics ~~are~~ is becoming increasingly prevalent in South Korean society.

Local politics is systemic reflection of the larger economy, culture and politics.

It is not constrained to the political sphere of classical perspectives ~~(what does this mean?)~~, but generates through the overall process of regional restructuring ~~(also am confused as to the meaning here)~~. That is, the context of local politics are formed in local industrial structures, the local composition of population and classes, ~~the~~ local history and culture, ~~and as well as~~ within the ~~(which?)~~ local mechanism itself -----

~~which gives all of which~~ birth to the very context. Therefore, to understand local politics, an approach to the complex and various “total social process” embedding local politics is necessary, beyond the traditional political spheres such as election administration, council organization, and the processes of power distribution.

Needless to say, the accumulative mechanism acts as the driving force of regional structuring in capitalist society, and is the decisive condition for local politics.— Regionally differentiated development is a point of debate on the level of local politics and matters related to everyday life spheres (?) such as the problems of taxes and the distribution of collective means of consumption like environment, traffic, housing, and other social/public services; these are all embedded in specific local situations, and appear as the spatial results of uneven capital accumulation.

Local politics entails the politics of place. Place is the spatial foundation for life where individuals give and take reciprocal actions with each other and shape their own identities.²³ The politics of place is the process of subjective self-reflection of regional residents. “What is the meaning of this space where I live? What are the problems of this space? And what might be the spatial actions for establishing my identity?” Likewise, self-reflections about place inspire participation ~~which that~~ may lay the foundation for local politics.²⁴

Above all, the politics of place highlights events within a specific space and resolves them through communication and debate among various constituents. Therefore local politics as the politics of place points to the politics of “contextualization” based on local specificity. That is, the politics of place recognizes and embodies the detailed differences of spaces, as opposed to politics emerging without distinction-reference to place or time.

The politics of place reflect the dynamics of regionalism, which is composed of identities, consciousness, and specific lifestyles. Regionalism is constructed through the residents' conscious participation in making decisions regarding place and the creation and mobilization of symbols for these contexts. Regionalism in its current form is taking place on a relatively small scale and is different in its dimension from the *Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong* and the regional disparity in Korean society created by regionally differentiated development.

서식 있음

Conclusion

Regionalism, which corresponds to the globalization's disintegration of people's unique cultures and identities (therefore causing the disorder in individual identity), receives recognition as a specific endeavor to secure one's own life to secure in securing one's own spheres of life (still a bit uncertain about the "sphere of life" usage). In spite of the positive aspects of regionalism in ideal type, *Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong* is pejoratively regarded as a negative symbol of pervasive regional discrimination and stereotypes in Korea, which has undermined social integration.

However, regionalism in Korea has more complex and multi-dimensional features. One feature is the exchange of *Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong*'s regional stereotypes between CheollaJeolla Province and other areas. The pre-existing debates on this divisive topic broadly distinguishes generally fall into one of two approaches/camps. One-The first has to do with is the historical perspective that finds places the origins of regional discrimination as far back as the Three Kingdoms Period/period, as mentioned above. The second interpretation of the problem, also

~~known as the –and the other is~~ political behavior perspective, ~~that finds its origin in~~ ~~prioritizes~~ the political utilization of popular ~~incitement–sentiment~~ and ~~politicians’~~ mobilization by ~~politicians~~ to obtain or secure their interests. — ~~A–The~~ third and alternative approach ~~that has more explanatory weight~~, however, is the perspective that ~~seeks–identifies~~ the factors ~~which–produce~~ ~~producing~~ regional discrimination in the conflicts that arise among specific groups competing for resources created by South Korea’s traumatic social and regional dislocation during rapid industrialization. This view is gaining increasing ~~plausibility~~ ~~sway~~. People in southwest ~~Cheolla~~ ~~Jeolla~~ recorded the highest regional transfers i.e. social mobility, to newly established urban industrial centers. Such a massive and conspicuous relocation, this perspective argues, raises the ire, wariness and suspicion of people from other areas. Therefore, negative and simplistic fixed stereotypes ~~are–generated~~ ~~find easy purchase~~, and politicians exploit these myths and stereotypes to consolidate ~~Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong~~. ~~Likewise~~ ~~At the same~~ ~~time~~, this perspective understands that regional sentiment contains a complex series of intensifying factors. Still, ~~Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong~~ in South Korea now is gradually declining as the frequency of regional transfers within the country has decreased, ~~and–while~~ communication ~~and~~; transportation networks have closed regional gaps, ~~and–while as~~ social movements have made efforts to resolve negative aspects of the ~~Jiyeokgamjeongjiyeok gamjeong~~.

At the same time, we observe possibilities of another kind of vertical division between metropolitan areas, especially Seoul, and other local areas. This produces regional disparities as a result of the specific space based- industrialization and spatial division of labor. As the a humorous euphemism for the nation, “Seoul Republic,” reveals, most political, economic and cultural resources are concentrated in the capital

of Seoul, which plays a ~~servesserving~~ as the nation's headquarters ~~as it covering extends~~ ~~its influence~~ and control ~~intoling~~ all ~~the~~ other local areas. These regional splits deepened to the point where they have been deemed an "internal colony."

With the recent formation of local politics, the establishment of regional identity at the local level based on the quality of life in each areas, ~~and as well as with~~ ~~the advent of the ability to~~ ~~participateion~~ in the decision-making process, ~~—~~ another kind of regionalism emerges ~~as I introduced briefly~~.

In sum, ~~regionalism in~~ South Korea's ~~regionalism~~ is multi-dimensional, multi-formed, and complex. The historical formation of regionalism is produced in the ~~conflict~~~~ingaal~~ and tension-filled process of "competition, defense, and exclusion" of resource distribution. For a long time, regionalism in South Korea has been lamented as a tenaciously persistent "national disease." Regionalism ~~is~~ ~~has been~~ commonly regarded as a harmful and negative attitude because of the social deformities it produces and the impediment it creates for the overall development of Korean society ~~as mentioned earlier~~. However, regionalism does not only entail negative elements. ~~—~~ As we have witnessed, a newly formed regionalism ~~including that uncludesincludes~~ local self-governance may imply positive motives toward the restoration of ~~subjects~~ ~~local subjectivity~~ and the improvement in the quality of life. Regionalism can function to provoke the vitality of social development through the formation of identity in ~~relation to a certain specific~~ area and ~~promote~~ "healthy" competition. ~~(with whom? What kind?)~~ It is required for the Korean people to ~~dissolve work to counteract~~ the negative aspects of regionalism and ~~rather to shift it utilize the positive~~ as a dynamic means ~~for of~~ developing a progressive ~~South Korean~~ democracy and a stable civil society ~~in South Korea~~.

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¹ See M. Castells (1997). About the global culture, see M. Featherstone (1996) and L. Sklair (1995). About a global politics, see J. Mittleman (1997).

² See those who hold the so-called, disconstruction of nation-state. Jo Myeong-rae (1995).

³ See Rob Wilson and W. Dissanayake (1996). In addition, on the correspondence of local economies to the world capitalist system, see B. Stallings (1995).

⁴ About an epistemological approach on locality, see Barney Warf (1995).

⁵ Its prominent example may be Muslim that nowadays more vehemently resists the West civilization and attempts to solidify their ethnicity.

⁶ Their assertion is in the same vein with so called "Orientalism" thesis that Said had suggested before.

See P. Williams and L. Chrisman (1994).

⁷ In addition, post-colonial studies enhance particular concerns to the "areas": -As the China, Japan, and South Korea have acquired increasing political, economic and cultural importance, closer attention is now being paid to East Asian regional spaces. New East Asian discourses urge us to therefore reconsider the changing status of those spaces.

⁸ On the *jiyeok gamjeong* of Korean society, see Kim Man-heum (1987), Kim, Jin-guk (1984), and Kim Hye-suk (1988).

⁹ For example, Yi Gi-baek (1977) and Yi I-hwa (1983) present such an explanation.

¹⁰ Song Bok (1994).

¹¹ Considering the rate of votes polled in the previous election for president since the 1970s. Kim, Dae-Jung won the absolute support from over 90% of population in Jeolla Provinces, whereas supports for him in Gyeongsang Provinces was not more than 5% of the population. Besides people in Gyeongsang Provinces showed over 70% of support for the candidate of their region and under 20% of support for the candidate from Jeolla areas. The Assembly election reveals the same tendency. On *jiyeok gamjeong* and political behavior, see Bae Gyu-han (1992), Sin Gwang-yeong (1992), and Cha Jong-cheon (1989).

¹² For instance, Kim Yong-hak (1992).

¹³ For example, An Byeong-man synthesizes briefly such recognitions. An Byeong-man (1992).

¹⁴ The descriptions in this part depend mainly on alternative explanations of Song Bok (1994). On population transfer and regional conflicts, see Jeon Gwang-hui (1992).

¹⁵ The local political-economy approach offers the significant insights about the capital accumulation and changes of regional structures. For more detailed discussion, Jo, Kim, and Kang (1991) and Choe Byeong-du (1991).

¹⁶ As a pioneering study on spatial division of labor and classes, see D. Massey (1984).

¹⁷ On the division of labor and class in Korea, see Kang Hui-gyeong (1990) [and Kim Wang-Bae \(1992a, 1992b\)](#). <첨부함

¹⁸ One characteristic of the capitalist society is that producing space and consuming space are separated. Although the so-called "regional transfer of value" may not explain the class relation [automatically/nominally](#), as the final locus of wealth distribution, it is possible to presume the regional transfer of wealth according to the spatial division of class. On the regional transfer of value, see C. Hadjimichalis (1984).

¹⁹ However, as the labor market in Seoul is differentiated, its internal composition of classes and its spatial differences of lifestyles are much various that other areas. As a whole, Seoul boasts its superiority for various life opportunities, but also shows its various differentiation within. See the various related articles in Seoul Research as introduced above. [Yi, Yong-gu \(1993\)](#), [Seo Jong-gyun et al.s \(1993\)](#). [And also see Korea Research Institute for Human Settlement \(1992\)](#). <첨부했음

²⁰ On the postmodernism system of social welfare and relationship between the local and state, see Roger Burrows and Brian Loader (1994).

²¹ Let's see a comment on the local council. The roles of local councils as ~~checking a check against~~ the executive and ~~also as a supervisory body overseeing~~ the local government" administration and execution is of great importance. However, most ~~of~~ people show the skeptic attitudes to the role of local council. Far from examining and preventing taxation corruption spontaneously ~~in the~~ on ~~the~~ residents" side, some representatives conspire with civil servants to pursue private interests. Meanwhile most of representatives are becoming a landed proprietor cultivating mutual friendship through various private meetings with civil servants and local leading figures. In this year, ~~only six~~ representatives ~~who successfully are restrained~~ ~~restrained themselves~~ from ~~corruption~~ ~~corruption are six~~

. *Chosun Ilbo*, 6 December 1994.

²² Kim Seong-guk (1992).

²³ K. Micheal and S. Pile (1993) and L. Bondi, "Locating Identity Politics," in *Place and The Politics of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1993). One of important strategies of the local politics for the identities of residents is to mobilize and consolidate them through the symbols of city or regions. Meanwhile the city symbol is the important strategy of local government not only for establishing identities of residents, but also for revitalizing the declining local economy and inciting the growth of the existing regions.

²⁴ To be sure, the identity is under the influences of the various categories such as race, class, region and religion. Jeong Geun-sik (1997).